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tion of this negation is to be found in the notion of Force, which is a negation of negation, a second remove from the abstract conception of things. Motion and Force, in their relations to Matter, will, therefore, be our next topic.

JACOB BOEHME.

[TRANSLATED FROM HEGEL'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY, BY EDWIN D. MEAD.]

I.

From Lord Bacon, the English lord chancellor, and the chief leader of all external, sensuous philosophizing, we turn to the *Philosophus Teutonicus*, as he was called, to the shoemaker of Lusatia—a man of whom we Germans need not be ashamed. It was, indeed, through him that philosophy first appeared in Germany with a distinctive German character. He stands in the directly opposite extreme to Bacon, and was called *Theosophus Teutonicus*, even as formerly Mysticism was called *Philosophia Teutonica*.

This Jacob Boehme was long forgotten, and was decried as a pietistic visionary. The period of enlightenment, especially, limited the number of his students. Even Leibnitz esteemed him highly; but not until more recent times has he again been duly honored, and has the profundity of his thought again become acknowledged. It is certain that, on the one hand, he does not deserve that old contempt; but neither, on the other hand, is he entitled to that high honor to which the present has sought to elevate him. To call him a visionary signifies nothing. If one pleases, one can call every philosopher so, including Epicurus and Bacon; for even these have held that man has his true reality in something other than eating and drinking, or the every-day life of hewing wood, or making clothes, or buying and selling. As to the high honor to which Boehme has been elevated, he owes it especially to his form of contemplation and sentiment; for contemplation and inward feeling, praying and longing, the figurative style

of thinking, allegorizing, and the like, are held by some to be the genuine form of philosophy. But it is only in the idea, in thought, that philosophy has its truth — that the absolute can be expressed, or that indeed it *is*, as it is in itself. On this side Boehme is a perfect barbarian — a man nevertheless, who, along with his crude mode of representation, possesses a concrete, deep heart. Since he has no method, or order, it is difficult to give a presentation of his philosophy.

Jacob Boehme was born in 1575, in Old Seidenberg, near Goerlitz, in Upper Lusatia. His parents were poor peasants, and in his boyhood he herded cattle. He was brought up in Lutheranism, to which he always adhered. The biography which accompanies his work was written by a clergyman, who knew him personally. We find much in this biography concerning the various agitations through which he arrived at deeper perception. Even as a herdsman on the pastures, as he relates of himself, he had most wonderful visions. The first wonderful vision came to him in a thicket, in which he saw a cavern and a box of money. Startled by this splendor, he was inwardly awakened out of dull stupidity; but the vision did not reappear. He was afterwards apprenticed to a shoemaker. It was chiefly through the text (Luke xi., 13), “Your Father in Heaven shall give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him,” that he was roused to the thought that in order to know the truth he should, in simplicity of spirit, earnestly and continually pray, seek and knock, until he, then on his wanderings with his master, should, through the passing of the Father into the Son according to the Spirit, be carried over into the holy Sabbath and glorious day of rest of souls, and that thus his prayer should be answered. Thereupon (according to his own account,) he “was surrounded with divine light, and remained for seven days in the highest divine contemplation and fulness of joy.” His master dismissed him on this account, with the remark that he could not afford to keep a prophet with him. After this he lived in Goerlitz. In 1594 he became a master shoemaker, and married. Later, “in the year 1600, in the twenty-fifth year of his age,” the light appeared to him again in a second vision, of the same

sort as the first. According to his own account, he saw a brightly polished pewter vessel in the chamber, and "through the sudden sight of the lovely, jovial lustre" of the metal, he was conducted (in a fit of abstraction, and in the entrancement of his astral spirit) "to the central point of secret Nature," and into the light of the Divine Being. "He went out before the gate and into the fields, in order to drive this vision out of his head, and yet he experienced the feeling none the less, but rather longer, stronger, and clearer; so that, by means of the imparted signs or figures, outlines and colors, he could, as it were, see into the heart and innermost nature of all things (which position, so strongly forced upon him, he also maintains and glorifies in his book *De Signatura Rerum*), on account of which he overflowed with great joy, thanked God, and turned peacefully to his domestic affairs." Later he wrote many works. He remained in Goerlitz, working at his trade, and there, in 1624, he died.

His works have received special attention from the Dutch, and therefore most of the editions have been published in Amsterdam, though reprinted in Hamburg. His first work was the "Aurora;" or, "The Morning Red in its Rising," which was followed by many others; that entitled "On the Three Principles," and another, "On the Threefold Life of Man," are among those which are worthiest of attention. Boehme constantly read the Bible. What other works he read is not known. Very many points in his works prove, however, that he had read much, and especially mystic, theosophic, and alchemistic writings; partly, at any rate, the works of Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus, of Hohenheim—a philosopher of something the same sort as Boehme himself, but peculiarly diffuse in his writings, and without Boehme's deep feeling. Boehme was often persecuted by the clergy, but he caused less sensation in Germany than in Holland and England, where his works have been published in many forms. His writings make a strange impression upon the reader, and one must be familiar with his ideas in order to find the true meaning in the exceedingly confused form of their expression.

The content of Jacob Boehme's philosophizing is thoroughly

German ; for that which distinguishes him and makes him worthy of attention is the Protestant principle, already referred to, of placing the intellectual world in the individual mind — of viewing, and knowing, and of feeling in the self-consciousness that which before was regarded as external. The general idea of Boehme's shows itself thus, on the one hand, deep and fundamental ; on the other hand, however, he does not, with all his desire and struggle after determination and distinction in the universe, arrive at clearness and order. There is no coherent system, but the greatest confusion in his distinctions — even in his “Table,” wherein three numbers appear :

I.

What God is, apart from Nature and Creation.

II.

Separableness,
God in Love.

Mysterium
Magnum.

The I. *Principium*,
God in Wrath.

III.

God in Wrath and Love.

There is no positive determination of moments here ; we only have the sense of struggle ; now it is this distinction, and now that, which is laid down ; and as the distinctions are separately referred to, they run one into another.

The manner and method of his presentation must, therefore, be called barbaric. The modes of expression in his works prove this ; as when, for instance, he speaks of the divine *salitter*, the *mercurius*, and so forth. As Boehme places the life, the movement of absolute Being, in the soul, so he also views all conceptions in an actuality ; or he uses actualities as conceptions (that is, natural things and sensible qualities arbitrarily, instead of definitions) to represent his ideas. For instance, sulphur and the like mean, with him, not the things that we so name, but their essence ; or a certain conception has this specific form of reality. Boehme is most deeply in-

terested in the idea, and struggles sorely with it. The speculative truth which he wishes to represent, requires, in order to make himself comprehended, essentially thought and the form of thought. Only in thought can this unity, in whose central point his spirit stands, be comprehended, but it is precisely the form of thought which he lacks. The forms which he uses are essentially no categories of thought. They are on the one side sensible, chemical determinations ; such qualities as harsh, sweet, sour, grim ; or feelings such as anger, love ; or tincture, essence, pain, etc. These sensuous forms, however, do not have with him their peculiar sensuous significance ; but he uses them in order to give words to his thoughts. It is at once apparent how arbitrary this mode of presentation must be, since only thought is capable of unity. Thus it seems strangely confusing when we read of the bitterness of God, of lightning, etc. We must have the idea beforehand, and then, indeed, we may find it figured in these strange similes.

The second point is that Boehme uses as form of the idea the Christian form, particularly the form of the Trinity, which was that which lay nearest to him. The sensuous form and the religious form of imaging, of sensuous pictures and representations, he strangely mixes together. Crude and barbarous as this is, on the one hand, and hard to endure by those who persevere in reading Boehme and try firmly to hold his thoughts (for one's head is kept whirling with "qualities," "spirits," "angels,"), it must nevertheless be recognized that these pictures and representations speak out of his reality — out of his soul. This rough, deep German mind, that deals with the innermost, exercises, peculiarly indeed, a tremendous might and power to use reality as a conception, and to keep about him and within him whatever goes on in Heaven. As Hans Sachs, in his manner, has represented the Lord God, Christ, and the Holy Ghost as common citizens like himself, and has treated in the same manner the angels and patriarchs, instead of taking them as bygone and historic beings, just so Boehme.

In the eyes of faith spirit has truth, but in this truth the moment of certainty is lacking. That the subject of Chris-

tianity is truth, or the spirit, we have seen. This is given to faith as immediate truth. But faith has it unconsciously, without knowledge, without knowing it as self-consciousness; and since in self-consciousness the thought, the conception, is essential—Giordano Bruno's unity of opposites—faith lacks precisely this unity. Its moments fall apart as separate forms, particularly its highest moments—the good and the evil, or God and the Devil. God is, and so is the Devil; both are for themselves. If God, however, is the absolute Being, the question arises: What absolute Being is this to which all reality, and especially the evil, does not appertain? Boehme is therefore compelled partly to conduct the soul of man to divine life, to place this life in the soul itself, to regard the strife as one in the soul, and to make it the soul's own work and endeavor; and partly, for that very ground, to show that the evil is contained in the good—a problem which also agitates our own time. But as Boehme has not got hold of the idea, and is in so far behind in the culture of thought, this process appears as a fearful, painful struggle of his soul and consciousness with language; and the object of this struggle is to obtain the profoundest idea of God, which may bring together and bind in one the most absolute opposites—not, however, for thinking reason. If one may so express it, Boehme struggles (since to him God is all) to conceive the negative—the evil, the devil—in and from God, to comprehend God as absolute; and this struggle characterizes his entire writings, and is the travail of his soul. It is a tremendous, wild, crude effort of the inner being to bind together things that in form and appearance are so far from one another. In his strong soul Boehme brings both together, and in that act breaks to pieces all that immediate appearance of reality which both possess. When, however, he conceives this movement, this spiritual nature in itself thus internally, the definition of the moments approaches, after all, simply nearer to the form of self-consciousness—of the idea devoid of sensuous form. The speculative thought stands, indeed, in the background; but it does not come to its proper representation. Popular crude methods of representation are employed;

a perfect looseness of speech appears, which to us **seems vulgar**. With the devil Boehme has especially much to do, and he addresses him often. "Come here," he says, "thou Black-Jack. What wilt thou? I will write for thee a **prescription**." Shakespeare's Prospero, in the *Tempest*, threatens Ariel that he will cleave an oak and peg him in the knotty entrails for a thousand years; thus Boehme's **great soul** is pegged in the hard, knotty oak of the **sensuous**, **imprisoned** in the knotty, hard growth of the **imagination**, **without** being able to come to the free representation of the **idea**.

I will briefly indicate Boehme's main ideas, and then **point out** several separate forms in which he revels; for he **does not abide** in one form, since neither the **sensuous** nor the **religious** suffices him. Although he copiously repeats himself, the forms of his main representations are still everywhere **different**, and students will be deceived who undertake to **give a systematic development** of Boehme's representations, especially as they advance in their task. One must expect in Boehme neither a systematic representation nor an accurate **management** of particulars. One cannot speak much of his thoughts **without** assuming his own form of expression and quoting **directly** concerning particulars, for otherwise it is impossible to **express** his thoughts. The fundamental idea of Jacob Boehme is the struggle to maintain all things in an absolute unity. He **desires** to exhibit the absolute, Divine unity, and the union in **God of** all antitheses. His main thought—one may indeed **say his** only thought, that which runs through all his works—is to conceive in all things the Holy Trinity; to recognize all things as *its* revelation and representation, so that *it* is the **universal principle** in which and through which all is; and **this in this way**: that all things have only this divine Trinity in **themselves**, not as a trinity of the imagination, but as the **reality** of the absolute idea. All that exists is, according to Boehme, only this Trinity; this Trinity is all. The universe is **thus to him** one divine life, and a universal revelation of God; so that from the one essence of God, the source of all powers and qualities, the Son is eternally born—the Son who is **manifested** in those powers; and the inner unity of this light **with**

the substance of the powers is the spirit. The representation is now darker, now clearer. What follows is the explication of this Trinity ; and here especially appear the various forms which he uses to denote the distinction which occurs in the Trinity..

In the "Aurora," the "Root, or Mother of Philosophy, Astrology, and Theology," Boehme attempts a classification, in which he places these sciences side by side, yet without clear distinctions, simply passing over from one to the other. "(1.) In Philosophy he treats of the divine power, what God is, and how, in the being of God, nature, the stars, and the *elementa* are made ; whence all things have their origin ; how heaven and earth are made ; also, angels, men, and devils, heaven and hell, and all that is created ; also, what the two qualities in nature are, in the impulse and actions of God. (2.) In Astrology, the powers of nature, the stars and the elements are treated ; and how from these all creatures have proceeded ; how good and evil are wrought, through them, in men and animals. (3.) Under Theology he treats the kingdom of Christ ; how this is conditioned ; how it is opposed to the kingdom of hell ; also, how it struggles in nature with the kingdom of hell."

1. The First is God, the Father. This First has at the same time a distinction within itself, and is the unity of the distinction. "God is all," he says. "He is darkness and light, love and anger, fire and light ; but He calls Himself alone one God, after the light of His love. There is an eternal *contrarium* between darkness and light ; neither holds the other, and neither is the other ; and yet there is but one single Being only with the *Qual* — torture — in distinction ; so with the will, there being, however, no separable Being. Only one *principium* divides this : that one is in the other as a nothing, and nevertheless *is* ; but according to its quality, wherein it is not manifest." By the *Qual* ("torture") is expressed that which is absolute, even the self-conscious, felt negativity, the self-determining negative, which is therefore absolute affirmation. Around this point all of Boehme's efforts turn ; the principle of conception is in him throughout alive, only he cannot ex-

press it in the form of thought. All depends upon this: to think the negative as simple, when it is at the same time an opposite. Thus the torture is this inner self-opposition, and yet at the same time the simple. From this word *Qual* (torture) Boehme derives *Quellen* [sources]—a good play upon words; for the *Qual* (torture)—this negativity passes into vitality, activity; and thus he brings it also together with *Qualität* (quality). The absolute identity of the different is everywhere present with him.

a. Thus Boehme does not represent God as an empty unity, but as the self-dirempting unity of the absolutely opposed. The First One, the Father, has at the same time the manner of natural existence. Concerning this, he speaks thus: that God is the simple *Essence*; quite like Proclus. This simple Essence he calls the *Hidden*; he defines it also as the *Temperamentum*—that unity of differences in which all is *tempered*. We find, too, in this connection, much about the great *salitter*—now the divine, now the *salitter* of nature—also called *salniter*. When he discourses about this great *salitter* as of something known, one does not immediately understand what he means. It is, however, a cobbler-like murder of the words *sal nitrī*, *i. e.*, saltpetre (which, in Austria, is still called *salniter*). This figures thus the *neutral* and truly universal Being; this is the divine *splendor*. In God is a splendid nature—trees, plants, etc. “In the divine splendor, two things are especially to be considered: the *salitter*, or the divine powers, which produce all fruit, and the *mercurius*, or sound.” This great *salitter* is the unrevealed Being, even as the New Platonic unity is without self-consciousness, and so equally unknown.

b. This first substance contains all powers or qualities, as not yet differenced; so then this *salitter* appears as the *body of God*, which contains all qualities in itself. Quality is a main idea, and the first determination with Boehme; and he begins with the qualities in his work, “The Morning Red in its Rising.” With the quality he also afterwards brings together *inqualiren* (inqualitize), and there says: “Quality is the mobility, the *Quallen* (pain), or unrest of a thing.” These qualities he then defines, but it is an ob-

secure representation: "It is as the heat, which burns, consumes, and drives out all that comes into it which is not of its own quality. On the other hand, it lights and warms all that is cold, wet, and dark, and makes the soft hard. But it has two *species* in itself, namely, light and rage" (negativity); "the light—the heart of the heat—is a lovely, joyful sight, a power of life, a part, or a source of the heavenly joy; for it makes everything in this world alive and moving. All flesh, as well as all trees, foliage, and grass, grow in this world by the power of light, and have life therein, as in the good. On the other hand, it possesses rage, which burns, consumes, and ruins. This rage swells, drives, and uplifts itself in the light, and causes the light to move. They struggle and fight with each other in their twofold source. The light exists in God without heat, but it does not exist in nature; for in nature all qualities are one in another, according to kind and manner. Even as God is everything, God" (the Father) "is the heart," says Boehme. In another place (in the work on the "Threefold Life of Man") he says "the Son is the heart of God." Again, the spirit is also called the heart, "or fountain of nature; from Him proceeds everything." Now, heat rules in all forces of nature, and warms them all and is a source in all. The light in the heat, however, gives to all qualities the power that makes them lovely and delightful. Boehme enumerates a whole list of qualities: cold, hot, bitter, sweet, raging, harsh, hard, rough qualities, Sound, etc. "The bitter quality is also in God, yet not after the same sort and manner, as gall is in man. It is rather an eternally continuing force, a great triumphing source of joy. Out of these qualities all creatures are made, and they come thence and live therein as in their mother."

"The powers of the *stars* are *nature*. All things in this world originate from the stars. That I will prove to thee, if thou art not a blockhead, and hast but a little reason. If one considers the whole *curriculum*, or the entire circle of the stars, one soon finds that it is the mother of all things, or nature, out of which all things have grown, and in which all things stand and live, and through which all things have their

movement ; and all things are made out of the same forces, and continue therein eternally.” Thus, we say, God is the reality of all realities. Boehme continues : “Thou must here, however, lift up thy feeling in the spirit, and consider how entirely nature, with all the powers which are in nature—the wide, the deep, the high, Heaven, earth, and all that therein are, and that are above the Heaven—are the body of God ; and how the powers of the stars are the chief arteries in the natural body of God in this world. Thou must not think that in the *corpus* of the stars the entire triumphant Holy Trinity—God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—exists. But this is not to be thus understood that He is not at all in the *corpus* of the stars and in this world. Here, then, is the question : Whence does Heaven obtain or take these forces, that it produces such mobility in nature? And here must thou look, above and outside of nature into the holy light, triumphant, divine power—into the unchangeable, holy Trinity, which is a triumphant, originating, moving Being ; and all powers are therein, *as in nature*. Therefrom have Heaven, earth, stars, *elementa*, devils, angels, men, animals, and everything arisen, and therein everything has its stand. Thus we call Heaven and earth, the stars and elements, and all that therein is, and all that is above the heavens—GOD ; who thus, in these many enumerated beings, in the power which proceeds from Him, hath *made Himself a creature.*”

c. Again, Boehme defines God, the Father, as follows : “When, now, we consider all nature and its qualities, we see the Father ; when we view the Heaven and the stars, we see His eternal power and wisdom. Thus many stars twinkle under the Heaven, innumerable ; thus great and varied are the powers and wisdom of God, the Father. Every star has its own quality. Thou must not, however, “think that every power that is in the Father occupies a certain part and place in the Father, as the stars in the Heaven. No ! But the spirit shows that all powers in the Father are in one another, as one power.” This whole is the universal power in general, which exists as God, the Father, in which the differences are united ; but it exists createdly as the totality of the stars, therefore as

diremption into the different qualities. "Thou must not think that God in Heaven, and above the Heaven, stands, as it were, and undulates as a power and quality, which has no reason and knowledge in itself—as the sun, which courseth through its circle and sheds from itself warmth and light, which bring alike harm and help to the earth or the creatures. No! Thus is not the Father. He is an almighty, all-wise, all-knowing, all-seeing, all-hearing, all-smelling, all-tasting God, who is at the same time in Himself gentle, friendly, lovely, merciful, and joyful—yea, is joy itself."

ON THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF F. W. J. VON SCHELLING, BEING THE NINTH LECTURE "ON THE METHOD OF UNIVERSITY STUDY"—AKADEMISCHEN STUDIUM.]

BY ELLA S. MORGAN.

If I find it difficult to speak of the study of theology, it is because I must consider the method of that science, and the whole standpoint from which its truths should be taken, as lost and forgotten. The collective theories of this science are understood empirically, and as such have been asserted and contested. But they are not native to this soil [empiricism] and altogether lose their meaning and significance.

Theologians maintain that Christianity is a divine revelation, which they conceive as an action of God performed in Time. Thus they resort to the very standpoint from which there can be no question whether the origin of Christianity is explicable on natural grounds. One who could not answer this problem to his satisfaction must know very little of the history and culture of the time of its rise. Read the writings of the learned men, in which the germ of Christianity is shown to have existed, not merely in Judaism, but in a single religious community which preceded Judaism. It is not necessary to go so far, although the account of Josephus, and even the remains of the Christian historical books, have not been thor-